Colonising Visions
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“The book [is] still the most important means of influencing the spiritual and intellectual stance of the German Volk in all its profundity.”

In 1944, Wilhelm Andermann Verlag (Vienna) published a book entitled Länder und Völker an der Donau: Rumänien, Bulgarien, Ungarn, Kroatien (Countries and Peoples on the Danube: Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia). This quarto sized book was lavishly illustrated with forty-seven of its eighty pages dedicated to thirty-eight colour plates (some of them presented as large double-page spreads). This full-colour illustrated book was the work of the photographer Erich Retzlaff (1899–1993) and the plates visually chronicled Retzlaff’s journey through selected states along the course of the Danube River. On the face of it, these facts are not very remarkable in themselves. The format and style of the book, its size and presentation, all conform to the type of well-illustrated picture-dependent monograph that was – and still is – typical of this genre of travel photography publication. Yet, for a sumptuously illustrated book of this type to appear when it did is remarkable. At this period, the Greater German Reich was losing the war. Materials were in short supply and, after the Jassy-Kishinev operation by the Soviet army in August 1944, Germany and its allies were on the defensive. The very lands depicted in this book were being overrun or under immediate threat of invasion.

This essay will consider the question of why this book was published when it was, and what it set out to achieve. In order to do this, the message embedded within the aesthetic construction of the book must be analysed and, in addition, the work and motivations of the photographer himself understood.

The photographer and the book

Erich Retzlaff was a photographer who enjoyed a certain celebrity as a creative practitioner of photography during the Third Reich. Since the start of his career in the late Weimar period, Retzlaff had carved out a reputation as a völkisch photographer. After the National Socialists came to power in 1933, Retzlaff’s profile as a photographer of the people, architecture and landscape of Germany, continued to grow. Critically acclaimed for his striking portfolio of closely cropped, modern, almost cinematic, portraits of ethnic Germans (fig. 1), Retzlaff’s standing as a ‘fellow traveller’ of the regime was soon established. By the late 1930s, and after just over a decade of photographic professionalism, Retzlaff was widely published and recognised as one of the foremost ‘Heimat’ photographers in Germany. With the introduction of Agfacolor Neu colour film in 1936, Retzlaff was one of the first photographers to experiment with the new process in depth. Along with several other high profile German photographers, Retzlaff went on to adopt colour photography for much of his later publication work, as well

3. See, for example, my discussion on Retzlaff’s work in PhotoResearcher No.16, 2011, 8–21.

4. There is no real equivalent for the term völkisch in English; it transcends simple ethnicity to suggest a mix of Romantic sentiment and history coupled with a mystical racial nationalism.

5. Retzlaff was a pre-1933 member of the NSDAP (membership number 1014457) and was selected to photograph many of the party notables for a celebratory 1933 publication Wegbereiter und Vorkämpfer für das neue Deutschland (Pioneers and Champions of the New Germany).
Aufnahmetechnik für den Liebhaberphotographen, Munich: Verlag Knorr & Hirth 1938.

8. ’Volksdeutsche’ was a National Socialist term used to describe those of German descent living outside of the German Reich such as the Transylvanian Saxons and the Danube Swabians.

6. Others included Hans Retzlaff (no relation) (1902–1965) and Otto Croy (1902–1977) both of whom, like Erich Retzlaff, were widely published in the 1930s and ’40s.


There are no surviving records to suggest when Retzlaff actually made the photographs for Länder und Völker but, considering that he was experimenting with colour photography around 1937/38, it is possible that he began quite soon after this date. A clue can be found in Retzlaff’s book Deutsche Trachten. The first edition of this book was published in 1936 and contained black and white plates of German regional costumes. In that first edition, Retzlaff was the author of the majority of the photographs taken in the Reich whilst the photographs of ethnic Germans outside of the Reich, or Volksdeutsche, were the work of other photographers. By the time of the 1958 edition however, several colour plates of these Volksdeutsche taken by Retzlaff appear. Two are of a Transylvanian Saxon couple posed on the left hand page in their summer and then, on the right, in their winter church going clothes (both photographs were clearly taken at the same time, in the summer) (fig. 2). The winter garments that they are modelling in the right hand image are beautifully crafted by hand and intricately stitched as writing guides on the technique for professionals and amateurs alike. It was colour photographic materials to which Retzlaff turned to provide the illustrations for Länder und Völker using a lightweight Contax 35mm camera with Zeiss lenses to provide portability coupled with quality.

Figure 2
9. This information about the practice of embroidering the date on traditional garments was confirmed to me in a correspondence with the Buchhaltung des Verbandes der Siebenbürger Sachsen. “Die Jahreszahl, die in der Jacke bestickt ist, das ist die Jahreszahl in der die Jacke hergestellt wurde. Bei den Trachten, sei es Jacken, Mäntel, Schürzen wurden meistens mit einer Jahreszahl versehen, damit man weiß, wann es gestickt wurde. Meistens haben Frauen und Männer zu ihrer Konfirmation dieses Trachtenstück erhalten oder zu ihrer Hochzeit. Dann ist es auch die Jahreszahl in der die Person ihre Konfirmation oder ihre Hochzeit hatte.” (The numbers that have been embroidered on the jacket show the year in which it was made. Traditional costumes – jackets, coats and aprons – were usually given a date to show when they were embroidered. It was customary for men and women to be given these traditional articles of clothing for their confirmation and wedding. This is then also the year in which the person celebrated his confirmation or wedding.) Stephanie Kepp, Assistenz der Geschäftsleitung und Buchhaltung des Verbandes der Siebenbürger Sachsen in Deutschland, personal communication, November 2014.

10. By 1942, Yugoslavia had been partitioned and the Balkans (for the time being) were largely pacified.


12. As a völkisch photographer, Retzlaff was a photographer concerned with imaging particular esoteric concepts through his physiognomic approach such as an ‘Aryan’ racial heritage and blood and soil (German Blut und Boden) mystical paradigms as espoused by Richard Walther Darré [1895-1953], Heinrich Himmler [1900-1945] and Alfred Rosenberg [1893-1946], Germany’s occult triumvirate (of whom, Retzlaff had certainly met Darré and Himmler).
Further clues on the intention of this book are provided by the writer of the foreword to the text, Dr. Franz Thierfelder (1896–1963). Thierfelder, a cultural historian and specialist of cultural policy, had been secretary general of the Deutsche Akademie (the precursor to the modern Goethe-Institut) with its focus on the promotion of the German language – linked to cultural diplomacy – abroad. In his published works, it is clear that Thierfelder was committed to the notion of a German sphere of influence in the Balkan region to ensure the autarky of a land-based German empire with control over pan-regions. Kris Manjapra discussed this concept in a recent (2014) study of the relationship between Germany and Indian intellectuals: “Thierfelder’s main writings focused on a view of the Balkans as the lost land of a land-based German empire, and the prospective role the German language could play in the region as the universal tongue to mediate national differences...At the height of resurfacing German imperialist reveries in the late 1920s, Thierfelder saw the enchanted vision of German-speakers sitting at the top of their own land and sea empire ranging throughout central and southeast Europe.”

This viewpoint is certainly reinforced by Thierfelder’s own writing in Länder und Völker. In the introduction, he underlines his passionate belief in the appropriation of the Balkans into (a German-dominated) Western sphere of influence and the importance of informative texts such as Länder und Völker to achieve this: “The more people in our world who make a truthful picture of the peoples of the Southeast, the faster the misconceptions about the concept of the ‘Balkans’ will fade, but more difficult (to achieve) still, is the necessary inclusion of these European, not Oriental peoples, into the Western community.”

Certainly a task made more difficult by the westward thrust of the Soviet armies. But rising above the reality of the military situation was never a problem for the National Socialist propaganda machine. Indeed, the certainty of a change in fortunes and Germany resurgent was a core tenet of such propaganda particularly as the situation became increasingly desperate. Länder und Völker is perhaps a symptom of the fact that this was a time of “decreasing propaganda effectiveness and increasing dependence on the substitution of myth for reality.”

The question of who may have commissioned Retzlaff is an intriguing one because Retzlaff would have required funding for travel and materials or at the very least would have had the expectation of remuneration once the work was complete (through a publishing contract) and the journey is a very specific one. That Retzlaff might have been supported by the state on this Danube project is certainly likely especially in consideration of the nature of the subject matter with its attendant ideological and propaganda potential. Retzlaff had, for example, been

15. Franz Thierfelder from his introduction to Erich Retzlaff’s Länder und Völker an der Donau, Wilhelm Andermann Verlag 1944, 7–8 [author’s translation].
17. According to Professor Dr. Rolf Sachsse, one possibility is that Retzlaff benefited from his relationship with his lover Regina Dorsch (Verlag Otto Beyer) who made use of her influence in publishing to secure a valuable contract for Retzlaff with the Metzner Verlag to produce colour physiognomic portraits of notable Germans, Das Gesicht des Geistes [also published in 1944]. Rolf Sachsse, personal communication, August 2014.
18. Retzlaff certainly had dealings with Goebbels’ Reich Ministry for the People’s Enlightenment and Propaganda and Hans Hinkel in particular in the late 1930s. Hans Hinkel was a special commissioner at the Ministry and it is feasible that Retzlaff was receiving commissions from the Ministry. Unfortunately, correspondence with the Bundesarchiv established that the existing file [R 56-1/257 - Reichskulturkammer. - Zentrale einschließlich Büro Hinkel, Korrespondenz mit Fotograf Erich Retzlaff] is currently misplaced/lost. Bundesarchiv, personal communication August 2014.
Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) was a Russian born occultist whose writings, such as *The Secret Doctrine* (1888) and occult movement the Theosophical Society, became enormously influential on the German occult and völkisch scene. In particular, her esoteric history of the world with its ‘Root Races’ could be interpreted to accord with völkisch thinking about the Aryan race and the origins of the Germanic volk in a Hyperborean Urheimat.

For the definitive academic examination of the influence of the occult on

19. ‘Deutsches Ahnenerbe – Studiengesellschaft für Geistesurgeschichte’ (later shortened to ‘Das Ahnenerbe-SS’) was formed by Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler in 1935 with the intention to investigate, research and promote the archaeology, history and culture of the (broadly speaking) Germanic race. Heemskerck Düker worked for e.g. the Dutch Volksche Werkgemeenschap, a cultural department of the SS. See www.nederlandsfotomuseum.nl/nl/collecties/fotografen-in-collecties/alle-fotografen/fotograaf/9bde548e-a24a-24a0-754a-f699c389f3dd (22.11.2014).

20. Retzlaff’s thesis, his fascination with and recording of the physiognomic Germanic face, accorded with the völkisch, racial milieu born out of a combined interpretation of social Darwinism and occult sources such as Helena Blavatsky’s Theosophy with its ‘Root Races’. It was an interpretation that drew sustenance from scientific and eugenic thinking whilst simultaneously alluding to a heroic, romantic and mystical German history, and it was an interpretation of especial interest to Heinrich Himmler, the Reichsführer, himself.

The translated notes below are usefully illustrative of how such a photography project might have developed (in this instance supported by Himmler) in conjunction with a publisher, as in the case below, the Metzner Verlag:

From a report on the journey of W.F. van Heemskerck Düker [VHD] and (secretary-assistant) Machteld Nachenius on their journey to Berlin (7th - 12th April 1942).

‘The Ahnenerbe offers 100 Isopan F [40 ISO black and white film], colour film and a Leica model IIIa.’

Friday 10th April: Made an appointment for the evening with ER (Erich Retzlaff, Von Richthofen str. 83) We discussed the details of a colour photobook on the Netherlands which would be published by Metzner Verlag. R. had had a meeting about this and a letter to Hamer Verlag was already on the way. We agreed in principle to have VHD write the text and to collaborate on the pictures. R. mentioned several locations in Sl. Holstein and in Noord Friesland that were worth a visit, but VHD already knew these locations. R. also said that VHD could receive a Rolleiflex, by way of the ‘management’, probably without costs, considering the photo-material that VHD collects.

Saturday 11th April: Meeting with Prof. Dr [Wilhelm] Unverzagt, on which occasion more locations for Sl Holstein were discussed. Then a meeting with Retzlaff with Metzner Verlag (Dr. Voigt). Dr Voigt preferred to see more emphasis put on the German character of the Netherlands. [publication] Numbers: 20,000 copies of which 8000 for the Netherlands.

21. Helena Petrovna Blavatsky [1831–1891] was a Russian born occultist whose writings, such as *The Secret Doctrine* (1888) and occult movement the Theosophical Society, became enormously influential on the German occult and völkisch scene. In particular, her esoteric history of the world with its ‘Root Races’ could be interpreted to accord with völkisch thinking about the Aryan race and the origins of the Germanic volk in a Hyperborean Urheimat. For the definitive academic examination of the influence of the occult on
light of Retzlaff’s collaboration with the Ahnenerbe in 1942, it does seem to be a distinct possibility. Retzlaff’s photographic vision of the German certainly accorded with that of the Reichsführer-SS. Retzlaff’s physiognomic and ethnographic photography was regarded by the NSDAP as ideologically didactic and, besides his book publications, many of his photographs were used to illustrate articles and as cover images for journals such as Volk und Rasse, NS Frauen-Warte and Signal.

With R. a short discussion about when the photo journey could be made, end of August - beginning of September... 22

It was this kind of support that could ‘open doors’ and circumvent the stringent controls on materials and publication itself. Certainly, production and distribution of books was strictly controlled and how much and what could be published was drastically affected by a chronic shortage of both paper – due to rationing – and labour in Germany at this time. In addition, damage from allied bombing also severely limited supplies and production. Overall, a publication’s fate depended on whether or not it would provide, “a beneficial influence on our Volk’s struggle for existence.” 23 Evidently, Länder und Völker passed this test. 24 Significantly, if the assumption about when Retzlaff undertook the Länder und Völker project is correct, the offer of support for the proposed Dutch project from the SS occurred at around the most likely time that Retzlaff began photographing along the Danube (sometime in 1942). Is it possible that, with the failure of the Dutch project to materialise, Retzlaff negotiated with the Ahnenerbe-SS for a journey to the Balkans instead?

The subject matter

Retzlaff’s publication was not singular as an example of travel photography of the east published during this period. For example, Ernst Tropper’s book Slowakei: Land zwischen Ost und West was also brought out in 1944 and contains a series of black and white images of Slovakian peasants in traditional costumes and in picturesque surroundings. However, although Retzlaff’s work adopts a similar approach to Tropper’s (and indeed others of this period), Länder und Völker is more expansive, politically layered and has the added drama of colour. As Thierfelder stated in the introduction when presenting Retzlaff’s collection of images:

22. These notes, translated from the Dutch, are courtesy of Dr. Remco Ensel, personal communication 12 August 2013.
24. Whether or not Himmler’s Ahnenerbe financed Retzlaff will probably never be known. However, given the circumstances [war, cost, access] and in light of Retzlaff’s collaboration with the Ahnenerbe in 1942, it does seem to be a distinct possibility. Retzlaff’s photographic vision of the German certainly accorded with that of the Reichsführer-SS. Retzlaff’s physiognomic and ethnographic photography was regarded by the NSDAP as ideologically didactic and, besides his book publications, many of his photographs were used to illustrate articles and as cover images for journals such as Volk und Rasse, NS Frauen-Warte and Signal.
“While we know that no image, neither painting nor colour photography, can convey more than a distant reflection of reality, the reflection does at least bring that reality closer to us.” 25

The colour plates are presented in a reverse order from the Black Sea upstream along the Danube towards the Reich. The Danube of course was considered a specifically ‘Germanic’ river originating as it does in the Black Forest. It was seen as a highway for trade, settlement and political influence. For example, when considering the resettlement of Volksdeutsche (in this case the South Tyroleans) in the Crimea (an area designated as the Gotengau in honour of the original Gothic settlements in the east), Hitler stated “Their transfer to the Crimea presents neither physical nor psychological difficulty [...] all they have to do is sail down one German waterway, the Danube, and they are there.” 26

The range of photographs in Retzlaff’s book along this ‘German waterway’ includes peasants tending their livestock, dramatic landscape views, architecture, town- and cityscapes, as well as peasant costumes. Some of the plates are reminiscent of the kind of travel photography
used to encourage tourism (for example, images of people enjoying the sun, sea and sand on a Dalmatian beach or dramatic sunsets over water as in (fig.3) *Sonnenaufgang am Plattensee Ungarn* yet others have a different tenor and suggest an agenda that is celebratory, nostalgic and simultaneously analytical.

The first photograph in the book (fig. 4) is an evocative view over the Romanian Carpathian Mountains. Shrouded in mist, forested and fore-grounded by a huge craggy rockface, the photograph acts as a gateway into the landscape that the reader is about to explore. As a visual device it is an entry point, a pass through the mountains that leads onwards from a familiar alpine scene (mountains and pine forests) to new and diverse lands. Equally, the other landscape photographs in the text can be read as a constructed visual dialogue where they act as more than a mere window onto a scene. Retzlaff’s photograph of the castle of Visegrad in Hungary (fig. 5) for example shows a romantic ruin rising high above the Danube valley and flanked by distant blue mountains. With crumbling crenulations and broken towers still watching over the Danube, Retzlaff’s composition alludes to popular medieval romance that is coupled with the knowledge that castles such as Visegrad played a pivotal role in the defence of Christendom against the Golden Horde and later the Ottoman Empire. The notion of the vigilant defence of the west from the ever-present danger of invading forces from the east would not have been lost on a readership in Germany that by 1944 was keyed up to the growing threat of the – seemingly unstoppable – advancing Soviet forces.

Whilst some of the plates, such as those of the fortresses of Visegrad and Akerman (fig. 6), display an unambiguous and romantic representation of martial history (with its historical echoes to the contemporary war in the east), the double page spread on pages 64 and 65 (fig. 7) shows something altogether more peaceful. Two Hungarian herdsmen stand on the Great Hungarian plain, the *Hortobagy Puszta*. They are shown facing each other, leaning on their staffs, next to a pool or perhaps small river in the ancient landscape of the *Puszta* illustrated here. On the far shore, a herd of Hungarian grey cattle is spread as far as the eye can see. Above, the blue sky is full of large white clouds that do nothing to block out the strong directional light of the sun that illuminates the two men. The two figures are both barefoot – in Retzlaff’s worldview, ‘connected’ to their land. They wear traditional hats and beautifully embroidered

coats. Everything about this photograph suggests peace and tranquility with an unsullied time-honoured order. It is also very much a piece of theatre. The photograph is concerned with perpetuity. There is no hint of the coming geo-political shift that will culminate in the autumn of 1944 with a major German-Soviet tank battle on the Puszta itself. The photograph acts as an idealised façade to the political reality of the war.

Retzlaff seemed equally comfortable in applying his not inconsiderable photographic skills to the landscape as to the portrait, but it is his portraits (though there are relatively few in this volume) that act as the mainstay of the overall composition. One of the most striking of these is the portrait of the Croatian farmer (Ein kroatischer Bauer) (fig. 8). Of all the portraits, it is the closest cropped with Retzlaff’s familiar trope of pushing the viewer closer to the subject presented here on an almost life-size scale. The colour photograph reveals that the man, albeit a Croatian, is a ‘racial brother’, his eyes are blue, his colouring blonde. Indeed, apart from the title and the costume, the man could quite easily be one of Retzlaff’s German subjects from his 1940
Retzlaff produced a series of striking colour portraits of northern Germans that are illustrated in his book *Niederdeutschland*, Munich: Verlag Knorr & Hirth 1940. By making such a connection, Retzlaff reminds the reader of Thierfelder’s words that these are, “European, not Oriental peoples...” This assertion (both visual and textual) implies the broader relationship of ‘Aryan’ peoples outside of the Germanic *Reich*. These tenuous links were just the kind of ‘evidence’ that scholars and scientists were collecting across occupied Europe for Himmler’s *Ahnenerbe* in his search for the legacies and relics of his primeval race, the Aryans.

Colour accentuates everything about the farmer pictured here, from his direct gaze to the traditional costume, a red Dalmatian cap, embroidered vest and gold clasped shirt. With the one exception of an image of bathers on a Dalmatian beach in their modern swimming costumes, no one in the book is shown wearing anything resembling twentieth century ‘western’ style dress. These somewhat timeless photographs show the costumes of the festival, the wedding, the display. They are as much fairytale fantasy as documentary photography for, by representing these peoples as tradition-bound just as he had represented the German peasant in exactly the same manner in his *Deutsche Trachten* (1936), Retzlaff is saying something about a rejection of modernity, a celebration of tradition, a longing for a lost golden age. It is perhaps symptomatic of National Socialism that it employed the latest in technology to relocate the past in the future.

This eulogy of the past and the Germanic is especially evident when the Volksdeutsche are photographed (and discussed in Thierfelder’s text). It is those people of German descent in Hungary and Romania that are of especial interest. They are regarded as demonstrative of a superior German influence that had made a disproportionately great contribution to the nations in which they resided. Represented here, they are the bringers of order, efficiency and high culture. As Thierfelder states: “In the landscape of fortified churches, stately Saxon villages and fortified towns blows another air [...] Where in Europe have farmers built like in Heltau?”

The striking portrait of the Transylvanian Saxon woman (*Eine deutsche Frau aus Siebenbürgen, Rumänien*) (fig. 9) is juxtaposed with a view of Saxon architecture on the opposite page (*Heltau, eine sächsische Kirchenburg in Siebenbürgen, Rumänien*) (fig. 10). This use of visual doubling is designed to underline the influence and presence of this specifically German legacy (in this case in Romania). The head-and-shoulders portrait of the woman is one of the most painterly of the entire group. She turns to regard the viewer; formally composed, she looks as if she has been in prayer; her bible is still clasped in her hands. In a dark dress set off by a white head

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29. Heltau, Romanian Cisnădie, was a German-dominated town in the district of Sibiu, in Siebenbürgen, or Transylvanian Saxony. Thierfelder, [reference 15], 12 [author’s translation].
scarf, Retzlaff’s portrait of her looks like a fifteenth century painting from the Netherlands. This interpretation (by a photographer who had already previously embraced a New Objectivity approach to the portrait in the 1930s) seems anachronistic, more akin to Romantic Pictorialism. However, it is consistent with Retzlaff’s method in *Ländere und Völker* where, more than in any of his previous book publications (even *Deutsche Trachten*), he indulges in what can only be a deliberate wistfulness, a regard for something that is precious and under threat. It is as if Retzlaff can only react in this way to these subjects.

The young bride (*Eine Schwabenbraut aus Nagyapard bei Fünfkirchen - Ungarn*) (fig. 11) is another representative of a separate group of these *Volksdeutsche* (in this case located in Hungary) and a Swabian descendent of eighteenth century resettlement after the expulsion of the Ottoman Empire. She is selected here to represent a type not an individual. As with all Retzlaff’s sitters, we do not know her name. But Retzlaff has presented her as an example of German endurance, tradition and race. And, as Thierfelder pointed out in a sentence that might have been the caption for any number of photographic books on German regional costume produced by Retzlaff and others throughout the 30s and 40s: “It is not only the noble, dignified dress....it is also the unmixed race, a particular mental and physical attitude, all indicating a responsibly conscious *völkisch* life throughout the centuries.”

This young female example of ‘a responsibly conscious *völkisch* life’ reappeared fourteen years after the publication of *Ländere und Völker* when an alternative portrait of her was reproduced in Retzlaff’s revised 1958 edition of *Deutsche Trachten* (fig. 12). Long after the original sitting, her face still frozen in that 1940s moment, she was an icon that, by 1958, was lost somewhere behind the Iron Curtain. Purged of its National Socialist context, pathos is all that remains in her smiling features.

30. Thierfelder, [reference 15], 13 [author’s translation]
Conclusion

The photographs Retzlaff produced for Länder und Völker served more than simply being a picturesque view of travel documentation and can be read as ideological objects cloaked in an aesthetic that was both modern (in terms of materials and production) and retrospective (traditionally pictorial in its execution). The photographs were reproduced in an expensive book format with a text by a leading German academic at a time when Germany was clearly losing the war. These photographs represent a type of visual colonialism in that they survey what the landscape could offer to a German hegemony and the specific and important relationship (pro- pounded by those such as Thierfelder) that existed between Germany and its Balkan neighbours. It is of course a selective vision; images of the people, cities, towns and landscapes of Germany’s allies are represented (Croatia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria), others are not (notably Serbia, there are no Serbians, no pictures of Belgrade). This selective approach is typical of National Socialist policy towards different racial groups such as the Slavs and other allied and conquered peoples.31 For example, some Slavs (Croats, Bulgarians) were regarded as ‘good’, others (Poles, Serbs) were ‘bad’. The most significant people are the Volksdeutsche, represented in Länder und Völker by the Danube Swabians and the Transylvanian Saxons. These people, their towns and the landscapes that they inhabited are intended to be read as representative of a resilient German autarky far from the Fatherland. The quality of their architecture, their folk traditions (dress, song, dance), their ‘civilising’ influence; all are presented as demonstrating the superiority of German racial stock even when sundered from the Fatherland itself.

Above all, Länder und Völker represents National Socialist obscurantism; it is propaganda indirectly concerned with the war and deliberately so. This was a time when that reality had already shifted, it was a time when desperate hopes of a miraculous salvation were being born; it was the time of the Totaler Krieg. The book is an imagining of things as they ought to be, a metaphorical visual construction of an ideal status quo. That subtext, in accordance with National Socialist ideology, was that there could be no return after the Götterdämmerung. If the unthinkable happened and National Socialism were to fail, if the Soviet Union were to triumph, then civilisation itself would be lost.